

*Butler*

# TWENTY-FIVE AGRAPHA

OR

*EXTRA-CANONICAL SAYINGS OF OUR LORD*

ANNOTATED BY

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## PREFACE

A COLLECTION of the best authenticated extra-canonical Sayings of our Lord may be useful to some who, like myself, have found the inconvenience of having to search for them in comparatively costly and inaccessible books. The treatment of the subject in the works of Resch and Ropes is exhaustive, but their contents are not available to the average English reader. The references in the more generally known writings of Bishop Westcott and the late Dean Plumptre are less complete, and contained in volumes of which the cost puts them out of the reach of many.

# TWENTY-FIVE AGRAPHA

OR

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## INTRODUCTION

(1) WHAT are the *Agrapha*? The word ἄγραφα, meaning *things unwritten*, has been used alike by classical and ecclesiastical writers of religious traditions, as contrasted with written laws: *e.g.* Lysias, in his Oration Against the Impiety of Andocides (*Lys.* 104. 8), mentions the unwritten laws expounded by the Eumolpidæ.<sup>1</sup> Clement of Alexandria speaks of the tillage of the Church as twofold—partly unwritten, partly written (ἡ μὲν ἄγραφος ἡ δὲ ἔγγραφος, *Strom.* I. i. 7, p. 319; cf. *Strom.* V. vii. 61, p. 771). In the remarkable passage of St. Basil in the tractate *De Spiritu Sancto* (§ 66), on Scripture and Tradition, he argues, “Were we to attempt to reject such customs as have no written authority (τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθνῶν) on the ground that their importance is small,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the famous passage of Sophocles (*Ant.* 454), where Antigone appeals to the unwritten (ἄγραπτα) laws of the gods.

we should unintentionally injure the Gospel in its very vitals." Cf. Anastasius Sinaita, 40 c.

But at least from the latter part of the eighteenth century, the term *agrapha* (ἄγραφα) has been applied by theologians to extra-canonical utterances or writings, and bears the sense of unscriptural, or uncanonical, rather than unwritten, or traditional. There is obviously a distinction between the application of the term to St. Basil's "unwritten" customs, such as trine immersion in Holy Baptism, and the use of the Sign of the Cross, and its employment as descriptive of Sayings which, if not actually scriptural, rest on early literary authority. This later limitation or adaptation, however convenient, is not strictly correct.

Jean Baptiste Cotelier († 1686), the author of the *Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta*,<sup>1</sup> drew attention to uncanonical Sayings.

The subject was also treated of by Johann Ernst Grabe († 1711), a learned Prussian who took Holy Orders in England, and whose *Spicilegium SS. Patrum et Hæreticorum sæc. I.—III.*, 1698, was the first work to give a compendious list of the *Agrapha*.<sup>2</sup>

There followed—Johann Albrecht Fabricius († 1736), *Codex Apocryphus N. T.*,

Nathaniel Lardner († 1768), *Credibility of the Gospel History*,

J. G. Körner († 1785) of Leipzig, *De sermonibus Christi ἀγράφους*, the first, according to Ropes (*Sprüche*,

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of the *Ap. Fathers*. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Resch (*Agrapha*, 4) calls him 'Engländer,' but he was born at Königsburg in 1666, and was not more an Englishman than Antonio de Dominis before him, or Joseph Wolff after him.

p. 2), to use the term *Agrapha* of the extra-canonical Sayings of the Lord,

Martin Joseph Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford († 1854), in his *Reliquiæ Sacræ*,

Rudolph Hofmann, author of *Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen* (Leipzig, 1851),

Rudolph Anger, in his *Synopsis* (1852),

Ch. K. J. Bunsen († 1860), in his *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*.

More recently the *Agrapha* have been illustrated by Bp. Westcott, in an appendix to his *Introduction to the study of the Gospels*; by the American theologian Bernhard Pick in his *Life of Jesus from extra-canonical sources*; by the late Dean Plumptre, in Bishop Ellicott's *N. T. Commentary for English Readers*; by J. T. Dodd, *Sayings ascribed to the Lord by the Fathers and other primitive writers*: Oxford, 1874; and by Ad. Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*.

The comprehensive work of Alfred Resch, *Ausser-canonische Evangelienfragmente*, a most complete and exhaustive treatment of the subject, appeared in 1889 among the *Texte und Untersuchungen* edited by von Gebhardt and Harnack.

This has since been criticised and pruned (1896) by James Hardy Ropes, Instructor of the Divinity School of Harvard University, an American author writing in German (*Die Sprüche Jesu die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind: eine kritische Bearbeitung des von D. Alfred Resch gesammelten Materials*: Leipzig, 1896).

(2) Many of the Sayings sometimes included among the *Agrapha* are mere variations or loose

quotations of Sayings recorded in the Gospels, e.g. the first of Resch's 'Logia,'<sup>1</sup>—

"All things whatsoever thou mayest wish not to befall thee, be not thou a doer of to another" (πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιεῖ. *Didache*, i. 2). This is obviously a mere variation of Matt. vii. 12 and Luke vi. 31, and no more constitutes a distinct Saying or Agraphon than the familiar "Do unto others as I would they should do unto me" of the English Catechism. So the charge is to be found slightly varied in the *Apology* of Theophilus of Antioch (ii. 34): "All things whatsoever a man may not wish to befall himself, let him not do to another;" and in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 23, 139), "What thou hatest, thou shalt not do to another." Again, St. Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* xiii.) quotes as among the "words of the Lord Jesus," ἐλεᾶτε ἕνα ἐλεηθῆτε, "show mercy that ye may be shown mercy." The precise words do not occur in the Gospels. They are to be found in the Ep. of Polycarp (*ad Phil.* ii. 3), and they may be a traditional Saying, but are more probably a loose quotation or 'conflation' of St. Matthew's μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες (v. 7), and St. Luke's γίνεσθε οὖν οἰκτίρμονες (vi. 36).

<sup>1</sup> The use of the Greek word λόγια ('Logia') to indicate 'Sayings' involves the unwarrantable assumption that the 'Logia' expounded by Papias (Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* iii. 39) and studied by the Empress Pulcheria and her sisters (Theodoret, *Ecc. Hist.* v. 36) were not the Gospels but bare Sayings. Cf. Polycarp, ed. S.P.C.K. p. 38, and note, and Bp. Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, ed. 1889, p. 172. The publication in 1897 of the fragmentary 'Sayings' discovered at Oxyrhynchus under the title 'Logia' has helped to popularise the improper limitation of the words. Cf. also note on p. 62.

So when we find "the true Prophet" of the Clementine Homilies saying, "Good things must needs come, and blessed is he through whom they come" (*Hom. Clem.* xii. 29), we conclude that this is rather an outgrowth of Matt. xviii. 7 than a distinct Saying.<sup>1</sup> And when the same Clementine "True Prophet" (*Hom. Clem.* x. 3) speaks of "God Who created heaven and earth and all that is therein," it seems better to reckon this as a reference to the eternal Word of all that God has done, than to include it among the Sayings of the Word Incarnate. Cf. Resch's *Agrapha*, p. 149.

Again, St. Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* xlvi.) introduces with *γέγραπται*, as though Scriptural, the charge "Cleave to the Saints, for they that cleave to them shall be sanctified." Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 8. But this may be a quotation from an apocryphal work. There is nothing to identify it as a Saying of the Lord. Cf. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*, pt. I. ii. p. 141. Cotelier curiously connects it with 1 Cor. vii. 14.

Nor is even the 13th of Bp. Westcott's Sayings, "Keep the flesh pure and the seal unspotted" (Clem. Rom. ii. 9), to be understood otherwise than as the Homilist's comment on the previous quotation from the Gospels, his *ἀρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει* not introducing an uncanonical Saying, but giving the meaning and application of what has gone before. From the beginning the thought of the 'seal' of Holy Baptism was common, and references to it from St. Paul (Eph. i. 13 and iv. 30) downwards, frequent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is however Bp. Westcott's 18th Saying, and Resch's 13th.

<sup>2</sup> "Auch die von Resch gesammelten Parallelen beweisen nur dass der Gedanke 'wir müssen unsere Taufe rein behalten' in alter Zeit sehr geläufig war."—Ropes, *Sprüche*, 35.

Bishop Westcott's fourth Saying, "The Son of God says, Let us resist all iniquity and hold it in hatred," from the Epistle of Barnabas, iv., seems to have originated in a clerical error in the Latin translation *Sicut dicit filius Dei* for *Sicut decet filiis Dei*, as in the Greek text, ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς Θεοῦ.

There cannot but be differences of opinion as to the genuineness of these reputed Sayings. Of those annotated in the following pages, some may seem to have been accepted on insufficient grounds. The absence of others may be blamed. On any reckoning the small number of possible admissions is noticeable as an indirect testimony to the practical completeness of the canonical Gospels. The pardonable hyperbole of the conclusion of St. John's Gospel, whether his own postscript or the addition of a nearly contemporary editor, suggests the consciousness of the end of the first century that the known material was not exhausted in known writings. The survival of so little beyond the canonical limits indicates that the fittest, and, in the beauty of fitness, the most beautiful, shine there in all the strong security of the holy shrine with all the clear shining-forth of the lamp of the Light of the World.



## I

It is more blessed to give than to receive.

μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν.—Acts xx. 35.

THE full force of the tense might be brought out by rendering, "It is blessed to be a giver rather than to be a receiver." This Saying may stand first of the Agrapha, inasmuch as though not extra-canonical it is extra-evangelical, *i. e.* not recorded in the Gospels. It may be noticed that St. Luke makes St. Paul quote it not as a 'Logion' of the Lord Jesus, but as 'the words'—*τῶν λόγων*. It is in close harmony with the charge in Luke vi. 30: "Give to every man that asketh of thee," and with Prov. xxi. 26: "The righteous giveth, and spareth not." Cf. Deut xv. 7, 8, 10.

In the *Didache* (i. 5) we have: "Blessed is the giver, according to the commandment." Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxiv. 5) quotes the Saying: "It is a good thing to be a giver rather than a receiver." Bp. Lightfoot takes St. Clement's "more gladly giving than receiving" (*Clem. Rom. ad Cor.* ii.) as a reference to it; but he notices the prevalence of similar maxims, and follows Wetstein in quoting, for the Epicureans, Plutarch (*Mor.* 778, c.): "Epicurus says that doing good is not only more honourable but more pleasant than being well treated;" and for the Stoics, Seneca

(*Epist.* lxxx. 17): "If any one is more ready to receive than to bestow a kindness, he is wrong." Both may have had in mind Aristotle's (*Eth. Nich.* iv. 1): "Doing good rather than being well treated is the part of virtue."

The old world was full of similar sayings—*e.g.* Bion: "It is preferable to bestow one's harvest on another man rather than to reap what is not one's own" (Diog. Laert. *Vit. Phil.* IV., vii. 3). So Martial (*Epig.* v. 42):

"Extra fortunam est, quidquid donatur amicis :  
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes."

Later Boethius († A.D. 526) reflects the Lord's words: "Then and not till then is money valuable when from having been spent in beneficence it can be possessed no longer" (Boethius, *de Cons. Phil.* ii. 5).

The difference between the Lord's 'words' and those of many maxim-makers lies in the unique correspondence of His words with His deeds.

The charge of the apostle to the converted thief (Eph. iv. 28) *κοπιᾷ ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ταῖς χερσὶν ἵνα ἔχῃ μεταδίδόναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι*, supplies the righteous limitation to him *that hath need*. We are to give to him whose *need*—not whose *impudence*—asks. Cf. the precept of the *Didache* (i. 6) which Resch and others would include among the *Sayings*, though there is nothing to connect it with our Lord: "Let your alms sweat into your hands till you know to whom you give," *i.e.* accumulate by industry, that you may spend according to others' necessity.

## II

**As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth my death until I come.**

ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἕμῳ καταγγέλλετε ἕχρῃς ἂν ἔλθω.—*Ap. Const.* viii. 12; cf. 1 Cor. xi. 26.

THIS Saying stands midway between the former and others, as having all but direct scriptural authority as a Saying of the Lord's. Did St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xi. 26, mean to include this clause as part of that which he had received as the Lord's own Saying? In favour of its containing St. Paul's words and not the Lord's, is the change from the first person to the third. On the other hand, on our Lord's use of the third Person of Himself, cf. Matt. xvii. 22, xxiv. 37, 42; Mark v. 19, etc. And its quotation in the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and other early Liturgies in the first person is proof of the view of an early period of the Church that it was a Saying of the Lord's. Cf. *Ap. Const.* vii. 25: αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον. Cf. the Liturgy of St. Mark, ed. Neale and Littledale, p. 23: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye show forth my death, and confess my resurrection and ascension until I come;" the Liturgy of St. Basil, ed. Neale and Littledale, p. 160: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth my death and confess my resurrection;" the Liturgy of St. James as translated from the Syriac (Fabricius, iii. p. 127), "mortem meam annuntiabitis et resurrectionem meam

confitebimini ;”<sup>1</sup> and the Ambrosian Liturgy (Hammond, *Liturgies*, p. 334), “mortem meam prædicabitis.”

The more natural meaning of καταγγέλλειν would seem to be ‘announce,’ ‘proclaim,’ rather than ‘exhibit,’ *i.e.* announce to man rather than to God. So the ‘annunciabitis’ of the Vulgate, and the ‘tell’ of Wycliffe.

The Lord’s objective memorial pleaded before the Father, like the blood on the lintel, is expressed in the phrase εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. In καταγγέλλετε we have the Haggâdah or showing-forth of the Passover (Ex. xii. 26 and xii. 8; cf. *Bishop Sarapion’s Prayer Book*, edited by the Bishop of Salisbury, p. 43). The “celebration of the Holy Communion” (cf. exhortation in Book of Common Prayer) is thus a divinely-appointed means, as it has been from the beginning, of preaching the Gospel. But it will be observed that the ποίησις and the καταγγελία are incomplete without communion. It is when we “eat this bread and drink this cup” that we announce the Lord’s death. So St. Ambrose, *De fide Christi*, iv. 125: “As often as *we receive* the sacramental elements, which by the mysterious efficacy of holy prayer are transfigured into the Flesh and the Blood, we do show the Lord’s death.”

### III

**He who is near me is near the fire: he who is far from me is far from the Kingdom.**

FROM the Homily of Origen on Jeremiah xx. 3, extant in Jerome’s Latin :—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 178, 179, and Warren, *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 26.

“Legi alicubi quasi Salvatore dicente, et quæro sive quis personam figurarit Salvatoris sive in memoriam adduxerit, an verum sit hoc quod dictum est. Ait autem Ipse Salvator Qui juxta Me est juxta ignem est : qui longe est a me, longe est a regno.”

So Didymus of Alexandria († A.D. 339) on Ps. lxxxviii. 8 (Mai, *Nova Biblioth.* vii. 2. 267) :—

διό φησιν ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁ ἐγγύς μου ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρός—ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας.

Cf. Luke xii. 49 : “I am come to send fire on the earth.”

St. Ignatius suggests the natural idea, in his case, of nearness to the fire of martyrdom :—“Why then have I delivered myself to death, to fire, to sword, to beasts ? But he who is near to sword, is near God : with beasts, with God” (*ad Smyrn.* iv.). St. Gregory of Nazianzus quotes from *the Doctrine of Peter* : “A soul in affliction is near God” (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* xx. and *Orat.* xvii. 5), as Elias of Crete understands κάμνουσα, a soul in suffering and under oppression (*Com. in Greg. Naz. Orat.*).

From another point of view he who is near the Lord in faithful service, alike of worship and work though in truth worship is work and work worship, will be too near the central fire of love to be frozen into cold insensibility, or even chilled to Laodicean half-heat.

“Quis juxta copiosum ignem stans non parum coloris inde percipit ? . . . Si necdum totus cœlestis et tam ignitus ut Cherubim et Seraphim esse possum, conabor tamen devotioni insistere, et cor meum præparare, ut vel modicam divini incendii flammam ex humili sumptione vivifici Sacramenti conquiram.”

—*Imitatio Christi*, iv. 4.

If in unfaithful disloyalty we come near the Lord

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we come near a "*consuming* fire" (cf. Deut. iv. 24 ; Mal. iii. 2 and iv. 1 ; Matt. iii. 12, and Heb. xii. 29). On the last passage Bp. Westcott notes:—"The significant addition of ἡμῶν extends the description of the God of the revelation from Sinai to the God of the new revelation. In other respects there may be a wide chasm between the Law and the Gospel : but the one God of both is in His very nature in relation to man as He is, and not in one manifestation only, 'a consuming fire.' He purifies by burning up all that is base in those who serve Him, and all that is unfit to abide in His presence."

These seem more natural meanings to attach to fire than enlightenment. Nevertheless it is only in proportion as we come near to the central Sun Who is the Light of the whole Kosmos that we learn what light is and are enabled to see by it. In His Light we see Light, Himself, and all that He illumines. The Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, and thus from the Father and the Son, is the "*Lumen Cordium*" (*Hymn of King Robert II. of France*).

There is also the suggestion of cheerfulness and comfort. The fire of light and warmth never goes out on the hearth of the heavenly home. In the palace of the eternal High Priest there is an undying ἀνθρακιά (John xviii. 18) which His servants can enjoy without being afraid to meet His look.

## IV

**My mystery for me, and for the sons of my house.**

Μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου.—Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 10. 64.

“FOR it was not grudging that the Lord in a certain gospel announced ‘my mystery for me and for the sons of my house’” (Clement of Alex. *l.c.*; cf. *Clementine Hom.* xix. 20.

Theodoret, on Ps. lxxv., connects the Saying with Matt. vii. 6, but evidently regards it as distinct: “Give not, He says, the holy things to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before the swine; and My mysteries for Me and Mine.”

It is also quoted by Chrysostom (*Epp. ad Cor Hom.* vii. 2), possibly, according to Resch (*Agrapha* p. 168), from a Greek version of the O. T. which may have been affected by Christian influences. The words are added to Is. xxiv. 16 in the versions of Symmachus and Theodotion. Ropes (*Sprüche*, p. 94, 95) thinks the evidence of their being a genuine Saying insufficient. The nearest canonical parallels are Mark iv. 11 and 34.

Clement of Alexandria suggests the caution most needed in reading this and like expressions when he prefixes to the citation the words οὐ φθονῶν, “not grudging,” or, as Bp. Westcott paraphrases (*Int. to the Study of the Gospels*, ed. 1860, p. 428): “It was not through unwillingness to impart His blessings that the Lord announced.” The μυστήρια of the Kingdom

of Heaven are not secrets locked up for the sake of an initiated handful ; they are secrets revealed for the sake of a redeemed world. At the same time they are from age to age entrusted to the stewardship of the Church, to be preserved and dispensed with a wise economy (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 1). The catholic Faith is such a revealed secret (1 Tim. iii. 9) whereof the cardinal article is the Incarnation (1 Tim. iii. 16), and the result that Spiritual union of Christ with His Church, of which Theophylact says, "He himself left His Father, not by local removal, but by His descent into the Flesh, and came to the Bride, who had always been ignorant of Him, and became united to her in one Spirit" (Eph. v. 32).

Sacraments are mysteries in the sense of being visible signs of invisible grace, the secret of that of which they are the effectual signs and means of imparting being revealed to the faithful. So Chrysostom (*Hom. in Johann. xix. 34*): "There came forth water and blood : not simply nor yet by chance came forth those streams ; but because the Church consists by both, and the initiated know who are regenerated by means of water and nourished by means of blood and flesh. Hence the origin of the mysteries."

On "the sons of my house," cf. Luke ii. 49, where *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου* = in my Father's house. In the supreme sense there is only one Son of the Father's House (cf. Matt. xxi. 38); and the distinction between the sonship of the Eternal Son and the sonship of His creatures is marked in the language of the Lord. He never says "Our Father" in reference to a common sonship shared between Him and His. "In my Father's House" is *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, and so all through. When He is



speaking of the common Father and God to Whom He is ascending, it is not "to our Father, and to our God," but "to the Father of me, and Father of you, and God of me and God of you" (*Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ Θεὸν μου, καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῶν*, John xx. 17). Nevertheless in Him we are sons of the House, and at home there. In the new covenant we are made children of God, and "as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God, . . . and if children, then heirs" (Rom. viii. 14, 17). So in Gal. iv. 7 we are reminded that in the eternal home we enjoy at once the reverent ease and familiarity of the son, and the assured inheritance of the heir. (Cf. also Heb. iii. 5, 6.)

## V

On the same day He beheld one working on the Sabbath, and said unto him, O man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but, if thou knowest not, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law.

*τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.*—After Luke vi. 4, in *Codex Bezae* (*Codex Cantabrigiensis*, "D").<sup>1</sup>

THE sole authority for this Saying being its introduction in Codex D., it has not even the same scriptural authority as Saying II., where the doubt rests not upon the genuineness, but on the fact of its forming part of

<sup>1</sup> With the vocative "man," cf. Luke xii. 14. With "Blessed art thou," cf. Matt. xvi. 17. With "accursed," cf. Deut. xxvii. 26 and John vii. 49. With "Transgressor of the Law," cf. Rom. ii. 25 and 27; Gal. ii. 18; Jas. ii. 9 and 11.

the words quoted as the Lord's. There is no known patristic reference to it : cf. Ropes, *Sprüche*, p. 126, and his reference to August. *c. advers. leg. et proph.* II. xi. 37. "The remarkable substitution in D. for vers. 5 seems to be an interpolation, but hardly an invention of a later time. Its form and contents speak for its originality, and, I am disposed to believe, its authenticity." Alford *in loc.*

Grotius (*Ann. in Ev. in loc.*) conjectured that it might have been the marginal gloss of a Marcionite, and directed against the authority of the O. T. Scriptures: but this seems far-fetched, and the Saying has apparently no such aim. Its force would appear to be: "Those who work on the Sabbath with a full knowledge that it was given for man, and that works for God and of mercy do not break it, are blessed. Those who work in sheer lawlessness, or for mere selfish gain or pleasure, are cursed."

The Sabbath passed at once so completely out of the practical life of the Church that there need be no surprise at our inability to illustrate the Saying in question from her early literature, whether canonical or extra-canonical. The Epistles, except in two passages, Col. ii. 16 and Heb. iv. 9, which imply its abrogation and spiritualisation, are as silent as the Fathers. The confusing identification of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day has obtained in only a limited area both of space and time.

The principle underlying the Saying remains of eternal obligation, that the quality of conduct depends largely on motive and enlightenment. If the man working on the Sabbath worked with faithful knowledge, he might be considered as "sabbatizing the Sabbath" in the sense of "sabbatizing" suggested in

Dr. C. Taylor's exposition of the Oxyrhynchus 'Logia'<sup>1</sup> referred to in the notes on Saying XXIII. p. 62.

## VI

The Lord Himself, on being asked by some one when His Kingdom should come, said, **When the two shall be one, and the outward as the inward, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.**

Ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τινος πότε ἔξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία εἶπεν "Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ.—Clem. Rom. *Ep.* II. 12.

THE whole passage in the Ancient Homily by an unknown author, which goes by the name of the second Epistle of St. Clement, is as follows:—

"The Lord Himself on being asked by some one when His Kingdom should come, said, 'When the two shall be one, and the outward as the inward, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' Now the two are one whenever we speak truth to ourselves, and when in two bodies there is one soul without hypocrisy. And by 'the outward as the inward' He means this:—He calls the soul 'the inward' and the body He calls 'the outward.' In like manner therefore as thy body appears, so also let thy soul be manifest in thy good works. And 'the male with the female, neither male nor female,' means this: that a brother on seeing a sister have no thought of her as a female, and she have no thought of him as a male. When ye are doing these things, saith He, the Kingdom of my Father shall come."

<sup>1</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, p. 14.

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 13) quotes a passage from Julius Cassianus—(† c. A.D. 200): "Salome endeavouring to learn by enquiry when the things concerning which she was asking should be known, the Lord said, 'When ye shall have trampled down the garment of shame, and when the two shall have become one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.'" On this Clement remarks that the incident and saying are extant "not in the four Gospels handed down to us, but in the Gospel according to the Egyptians." In another kindred quotation (*Strom.* iii. 6) Salome remarks, "I did well not to bear children."

On the historical value of the narrative Bp. Lightfoot says (*Apostolic Fathers*, I. ii. p. 237): "The mystical colouring of these sayings is quite alien to the character of our Lord's utterances as reported in the authentic Gospels, though entirely in keeping with the tone of Græco-Egyptian speculation. Epiphanius thus describes this apocryphal gospel (*Hær.* lxii. 2), πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριωδῶς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναφέρεται. The only external fact which can be tested—the reference to Salome as childless—is in direct contradiction to the canonical narrative. This contradiction might however be removed by an easy change of reading, καλῶς οὖν ἂν ἐποίησα for καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα. The Egyptian Gospel was highly esteemed by certain Gnostic sects." And *id.* p. 239: "This supposed Saying of our Lord was interpreted by Julius Cassianus as forbidding marriage. Whether this was its true meaning we cannot judge, as the whole context and the character of the Gospel are not sufficiently known. It would have signified no more than that 'in the kingdom of Heaven' (Resurrection) "there is neither

marrying nor giving in marriage' (Matt. xxii. 30), or that the distinctive moral excellences of each sex shall belong to both equally. Clement of Alexandria, answering Julius Cassianus, gives the following explanation of the passage: The male represents *θυμός*, the female *ἐπιθυμία*, according to the well-known Platonic distinction: these veil and hinder the operations of the reason: they produce shame and repentance; they must be stripped off before the reason can assume its supremacy; then at length ἀποστᾶσα τοῦδε τοῦ σχήματος ᾧ διακρίνεται τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ψυχὴ μετατίθεται εἰς ἔνωσιν, οὐθέτερον οὔσα.<sup>1</sup> . . . The saying of the Egyptian Gospel, if it had any historical basis at all (which may be doubted), was perhaps founded on some utterance of our Lord similar in meaning to St. Paul's οὐκ ἐν ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ (Gal. iii. 28). It is worth observing that Clement of Alexandria in explaining the saying of the Egyptian Gospel, refers to these words of St. Paul, and explains them similarly of the *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία* " (*Id.* pp. 238-239).

On the other hand, the writer of the Ancient Homily called *Clem. II.* says, in chapter xiv.: "I do not suppose you to be ignorant that the living Church is Christ's body: for the Scripture says 'God made man male and female'; the male is Christ, the female the Church." This gives the variant thought that the unity pointed to is the perfection of the "mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church."

"As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall God rejoice over His new Jerusalem" (Is. lxii. 5). "The two shall be one," and "there shall be neither male nor female," because the oneness which

<sup>1</sup> *Strom.* iii. 13.

we strive to express in our Eucharistic Service, "we . . . in Him and He in us," shall have been perfected, and "God shall be all in all." The "marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. xix. 9) is to proclaim the "mystical union." Then shall rise the song—

"Hæc futura, quæ figura  
Obumbravit, reseravit  
Nobis dies gratiæ :  
Jam in lecto cum dilecto  
Quiescamus et psallamus,  
Adsunt enim nuptiæ ;  
Quarum tonat initium  
In tubis epulantium  
Et finis per psalterium.  
Sponsum millena millia  
Una laudant melodia,  
Sine fine dicentia,  
Alleluia. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

This glorification, not of the Blessed Virgin, but of the Church personified as the Bride, would appear to be the subject of some of the most ancient mosaics. In the Tribune of Sta. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, the Christ, with a nimbus containing the cross, is seated on a large double throne, His right arm embracing a crowned female figure : in His left hand he holds a book inscribed VENI ELECTA MEA, ET PONAM TE IN THRONVM MEUM. The crowned figure holds a scroll or tablet exhibiting the passage from the Canticles (viii. 3), LÆVA EJVS SUB CAPITTE MEO ET DEXTERA ILLIVS AMPLEXABITVR ME.

"Here the Virgin is the type of the Church triumphant and glorified, having overcome the world ; and the solemn significance of the whole representa-

<sup>1</sup> Adam of St. Victor, *De Dedicacione Ecclesiæ*.

tion is to be found in the Book of the Revelation (iii. 21), 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his Throne.'"<sup>1</sup>

## VII

**In whatsoever things I may discover you, in these will I also judge you.**

διὸ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.—Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, cap. xlvii.

CF. Clement of Alex., *Quis Dives salvetur*, § 40 :  
ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ ἂν εὕρω ὑμᾶς, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ καὶ  
παρ' ἕκαστα βοᾷ τὸ τέλος πάντων.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 15, 16 : "In the mosaic in the Tribune of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, perhaps the earliest example extant of the Coronation, properly so called, the subject is treated with a grand and solemn simplicity. Christ and the Virgin, colossal figures, are seated on the same royal throne within a circular glory. He places the crown on her head with His right hand ; in the left He holds an open book with the usual text, 'Veni electa mea, et ponam te in Thronum meum,' etc. She bends slightly forward, and her hands are lifted in adoration."—*id.* p. 16.

So the hymn in the Roman Breviary :—

"O sorte nupta prospera  
Dotata Patris gloria,  
Respersa sponsi gratia,  
Regina formosissima !  
Christo jugata Principi,  
Cælo coruscas civitas."

"There can be no doubt that the Orantes, or praying female figures in the catacombs, are for the most part personifications of the Church."—*D. C. Ant.* 1. 389.

The Saying is also found in Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde, p. 73. 45); St. Basil (*Letter* xlii.); Amphilochius (*Oration on Penitence*, ed. Combefis. p. 106); Nilus (Migne, lxxxix. p. 357); Jerome (*Letter* cxxii. 3), and elsewhere.

As Scriptural parallels (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 227, 228) are quoted Ez. xviii. 30, "Ἐκαστον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ κρινῶ, and xxxiii. 20, ἕκαστον ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κρινῶ ὑμᾶς. LXX., and Phil. iii. 12, διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήφθην ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, "I follow after if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus" (A. V.); "if so be I may apprehend that for which also I was apprehended" (R.V.). The latter passage seems only to illustrate another force of καταλαμβάνειν. The Apostle hopes to *grasp* even as he was *grasped* by the Lord. Cf. Luther's "Ich jage ihm aber nach ob ich es auch ergreifen möchte nachdem ich von Christo Jesu ergriffen bin." In the Saying the sense is rather 'overtake,' 'seize,' 'catch.' So Demosthenes, 542. 3, καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐξιόντας. Of course when the Lord 'catches' or comes 'suddenly on,' He at the same time fully "seizes with the mind" or *comprehends*.<sup>1</sup>

The force of the Saying is analogous to that of the argument in the Chapter of Ezekiel cited. A renegade cannot plead that he once was a true man: on the

<sup>1</sup> Dogberry's charge to the watch to 'comprehend' vagrants may be meant for as silly a solecism as 'vagrom,' but the Latin *comprehendere* is used, like καταλαμβάνειν, for both manual and mental apprehension, and there are a few instances of the use of the English derived verb in the same sense:—e.g. "The inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and catch their priests."—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1732.



other hand, the Lord will not cast it in the teeth of a penitent that he once was an enemy. 'Η γὰρ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄμετρον τοῦ πλούτου αὐτοῦ τὸν μετανοοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ὡς δι' Ἰεξεχιήλ μὴνύει, ὡς δίκαιον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχει, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ εὐσεβείας ἢ δικαιοπραξίας μετατιθέμενον ἐπὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἁθεότητα ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἐπίσταται (Justin *Dial.* l. c.). It would not have served a Peter to plead, "Thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I once loved thee." On the other hand, there was a gentle judgment for even the robber on Calvary, or for the rider on whom the epitaph<sup>1</sup> was written:—

"Betwixt the stirrup and the ground  
I mercy sought, and mercy found."

So Manfred, King of Naples, in Dante's *Purgatory*,  
iii. 115—

"Poscia ch'io ebbi rotta la persona  
Di duo punte mortali, io mi rendei  
Piangendo a Quei che volentier perdona.  
Orribil furon li peccati miei;  
Ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia  
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei."

## VIII

**Ask the great things and the small shall be added unto you: ask the heavenly things and the earthly shall be added unto you.**

εἰπε γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· Αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται. καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.—Origen *de Orat.* § 2.

CF. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 24: αἰτεῖσθε γάρ, φησί, τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται.

<sup>1</sup> Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 225, 5th ed.

Euseb. *in Psalm.* xvi. 2: τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐδίδασκειν λέγων· αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

"Es ist ein sehr gut beglaubigtes Herrenwort."—Resch, *Agrapha*, 230.

"Dieser Spruch kann gewiss als eine treue Wiedergabe eines Lehrspruches Jesu gelten."—Ropes, *Sprüche*, 140.

Cf. Col. iii. 1, 2: τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε. . . τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and Matt. vi. 33, ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. . . καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Bp. Lightfoot on τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε says, "you must not only *seek* heaven; you must also *think* heaven." "Here the Apostle points the antithesis to controvert a gnostic asceticism: in the Philippian letter he uses the same contrast to denounce an Epicurean sensualism. Both alike are guilty of the same fundamental error: both alike concentrate their thoughts on material, mundane things."

The μεγάλα and the μικρά indicate the real relative proportions of the ἐπουράνια and the ἐπίγεια. The ἐπουράνια may be sought, and the ἐπίγεια shunned in the spirit of the star-gazer of the old fable, who tumbled into a well.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the attention may be so concentrated on the ἐπίγεια that, as in the case of Bunyan's man with the muckrake,<sup>2</sup> the ἐπουράνια are never seen. In the

<sup>1</sup> *Gabriæ Tetrasticha in Fabellas Æsopicas*, ed. Plantin. 1598, p. 10 (otherwise Babriæ or Babrii):

Ἀστροῖς περισκοπῶν τις ἀστεροσκοπὸς  
Πίπτει λεληθὼς πρὸς φρέαρ· τυχὼν δὲ τις  
Ὀδοιπὸρος, στένοντι ταῦτ' ἔφη λέγων  
Νοῦν θεὸς ἄνω, βέλτιστε, τὴν γῆν οὐ βλέπεις;

<sup>2</sup> *Pilgrim's Progress*, Part II. p. 238, ed. 1840.

true Christian philosophy the kingdom of Heaven on earth is realised in the way in which earthly things are estimated and treated, and the very Mammon of unrighteousness, handled as the Lord would have it handled, may be made a means of grace. The 'great' objects of anxiety to the natural man are food, clothing, and, in many parts of the world, shelter: these, says the Lord, are not really worth anxiety at all: about them men need not 'take thought.'<sup>1</sup> As a general rule, they will be added in simple literal sense. It is unusual to see the "righteous forsaken, or his seed begging their bread,"<sup>2</sup> but such a sight is not quite unknown. Underlying the Saying, as the canonical promise of Matt. vi. 33, is the idea that all who seek the 'great' things of the Kingdom, shall without fail find the 'convenient food' (Prov. xxx. 8), of the bread of heaven, the robes of righteousness, and the abiding home (μονή) of the Father's House (John xiv. 2).

It is in the postponement of the bodily to the mental that heathen philosophy comes nearest to the Gospel. Cf. Plat. *Apol. Soc.* § xvii.: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πράττων ἐγὼ περιέρχομαι ἢ πείθων ὑμῶν καὶ νεωτέρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μήτε σωμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μήτε χρημάτων πρότερον, μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα, ὥς τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπως ἂν ἀρίστη ἔσται, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ χρημάτων ἀρετὴ γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς χρήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπαντα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. So Juvenal puts the 'vivendi causas' before 'vitam' (*Sat.* viii. 84), and the 'vivendi causæ' are virtuous living:—"nihil est præstabilius

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, of course, be anxious. On thought in the sense of anxiety, cf. "Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," and "she pined in thought" (Shakespeare).

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxvii. 25.

quam plane intelligi nos ad justitiam natos." Cic. *Leg.* i. 28.

It is in the revelation of the really great things of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ that the Gospel transcends the præ-evangelic philosophy, and both promises and gives the companionship of the Eternal. The old cultivated a longing for τὸ ὄν: the new reveals Him who says ἐγὼ εἰμί.

## IX

### Become tried [or wise] Bankers.

Εὐλόγως ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν Γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται.—*Hom. Clem.* ii. 51.

CF. *Hom. Clem.* ii. 51, iii. 50; xviii. 20; *Apost. Const.* ii. 36; Apelles ap. Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlv. 2: οὕτως ἔφη ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται.

Cassian, *Coll.* i. 20: "Efficiamur secundum præceptum Domini probabiles trapezitæ."

Origen in *Matth. Tract.* 27, *Num.* 33: "Illud mandatum quod ait (Christus) Estote prudentes nummularii."

[The authorship of the Latin translation of Origen's Homilies is uncertain. On the word *nummularius*, cf. Suetonius, *Galba* ix.: "nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit mensæque ejus affixit." 'Prudentes' is not quite equivalent to δόκιμοι, and only brings out one side of the meaning. Galba's *nummularius* was 'prudens'; only he did not look ahead far enough, and so became ἀδόκιμος. On the active sense of δόκιμοι see below.]

St. Basil on *Isaiah*, i. 22: ὀλίγοι γὰρ δόκιμοι τραπε-

ζῖται· ὀλίγοι οἱ πάντα δοκιμάζειν δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ μὲν καλὰ κατέχειν, ἀπὸ δὲ παντὸς εἰδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι; also on Is. v. 20 and Proverbs, T. ii. p. 103. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* vi. 36, etc.

"This is the most commonly quoted of all apocryphal sayings, and seems to be genuine. The thought is explained in an addition to the Parable of the Talents which occurs in the *Clementine Homilies*, Σοῦ γάρ φησιν (ὁ κύριος) ἄνθρωπε, τοὺς λόγους μου ὡς ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τραπεζῖτων καὶ ὡς χρήματα δοκιμάσαι. *Clem. Hom.* iii. 61."—Westcott, *Introd.* 425.

The use of *τράπεζα* for a counter or bank, and of *τραπεζίτης* for money-changer or banker, is classical and common. Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 17. c. : ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν, and Demosth. 1186, 7 : οἱ γὰρ τραπεζῖται εἰώθασι ὑπομνήματα γράφεσθαι ὧν τε διδύασι χρημάτων καὶ εἰς ὃ τι καὶ ὧν ἄν τις τίθεται, as well as Matt. xxv. 27.

*δόκιμος* has first the passive sense of accepted, (δέχομαι) approved, tested, and then of approved ability to do, as in Æschylus, *Persæ*, 87 : *δόκιμος δ' οὐτις* . . . *εἶργειν ἄμαχον κῦμα θαλάσσας*. This latter is the sense in which the word is used by St. Basil in the passage above, quoting 1 Thess. v. 21; and by St. Cyril of Alexandria on St. John, lib. iv. 3, 61 : Δεῖ δοκίμους εἶναι τραπεζίτας ὡς εἰδέναι τὸ δόκιμον καὶ τὸ παράσημον νόμισμα. In classical Greek *δοκιμάζειν* is the technical word for putting money to the *δοκιμή* or proof, by aid of the *δοκιμεῖον* or test (Plato, *Timæus*, 65 c.; Plutarch, *Def. Orac.* 21); that which endures this proof being *δόκιμος*, that which fails *ἄδοκιμος*. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 19, and Trench, *Syn.* lxxiv.

The capable and trustworthy Banker of heavenly things will therefore be able at once to test principles,

opinions, assertions, and to take good care of what is entrusted to his safe keeping. He will in his own interest, as well as that of his clients and customers, distinguish between the genuine and counterfeit coin and paper, the security which is 'bogus,' and the security which is sound. The honour and the secrets of others will be safe in his keeping, as also the *Depositum Fidei*.

The Saying may also serve to put in a reminder of the need of good business habits on the part of the clergy as well as the laity. The training of the exciseman St. Matthew was no doubt exceedingly valuable in the apostolic college, and the symbolic representation of the first evangelist with an angel holding the implements of writing is suggestive of the duty of every would-be apostle and evangelist. The angel of the Lord proffers the ink-horn and the pen, and the Lord Himself says, Learn how to use them. Do not suppose that you can use them properly by merely wishing, or even meaning, to use them well. The process must be gradual. It is not *Be*, but *Become*, and get yourselves made, *good accountants, good bankers*.

Alike of earthly and heavenly treasure, the Arch-owner and lender of all things looks to have "His own with usury." It is the business of His *τραπέζιται* to see that there is neither loss nor waste, but safe keeping, and, if practicable, increase.

## X

Jesus saith: On account of them that are infirm was I infirm, and on account of them that hunger did I hunger, and on account of them that thirst did I thirst.

καὶ Ἰησοῦς γοῦν φησί· διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἡσθέουν καὶ διὰ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐπείνων καὶ διὰ τοὺς διψῶντας ἐδίψων.—Orig. in *Matt.* tom. xiii. 2. Cf. Heb. iv. 15.

WESTCOTT (*Int.* p. 427) remarks that these words seem only an adaptation of the passage in Matthew. Cf. *Matt.* viii. 17 and xxv. 35, 36. But the statement in the latter passage, ἐπείνασα,—ἐδίψησα,—ἡσθένησα, is not in reference to the actual life of need lived by the Lord, but to his identification of His suffering people with Himself.

The Saying, as given by Origen, states the final cause of the hungering, thirsting, and sickness of the Saviour to have been the help of the hungry, the thirsty, and the sick; primarily, it may be understood of the hungry and thirsty for God and His righteousness, and of the weak for want of His strength. It will, however, include the idea of His coming to help sufferers from all human want and suffering, even the simplest and least elevated; not indeed that His salvation will save men from sickness, hunger, and thirst, but it will enable them to suffer sickness, hunger, and thirst, and all pain, with the thought of the Friend near and the rest beyond.

The saying is on parallel lines with the statement of St. Paul,<sup>1</sup> that "our Lord Jesus for our sakes, on

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 9.

our account, δι' ἡμᾶς, being rich, became poor, or literally, went a begging, that we through His poverty may be rich." "So our Lord being in the form of God, and out of reach of hunger, thirst, and sickness, yet on our account became hungry, thirsty, and subject to infirmity, that we may hunger no more, neither thirst any more, but be made strong and whole, going through the process of salvation, σωζόμενοι, till we be σεσωσμένοι, or *salvi*.

## XI

The Lord, when reproaching Jerusalem, said, **Sodom is justified of thee.**

ὁ κύριος . . . τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ὀνειδίζων ἔλεγεν· ἐδικαιώθη Σόδομα ἐκ σοῦ.—*Apost. Const.* ii. 60.

CF. Origen in *Jerem. Hom.* viii. 7: ἐδικαιώθη γάρ, φησί, Σόδομα ἐκ σοῦ.

Cf. Matt. x. 15, xi. 24, Mark vi. 11, and Luke x. 12; and specially Rev. xi. 8.

"Ein sicheres Herrenwort," Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 259.

The context of the citation in Origen is Ἐστὶν ἁμαρτήματα τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἁμαρτήματα καὶ Σοδόμων, ἀλλὰ συγκρίσει τῶν χειρόνων ἁμαρτημάτων τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ δικαιοσύνη ἐστὶ τὰ Σοδόμων ἁμαρτήματα, ἐδικαιώθη γάρ, κ. τ. λ.

It may be argued that this Saying is only an evolution of the words of Ezekiel xvi. 48, 49, 52 (cf. Ropes, *Sprüche*, 42), and that the attribution of the adapted Saying to "The Lord reproaching Jerusalem" cannot be maintained.

The primary point of our Lord's contrast between



the judgment of Sodom and of the city which should refuse to receive the Twelve, or of Capernaum, where mighty works had been done in vain, seems to be rather continuity of national or political existence, than individual punishment. Had Sodom, He appears to argue, seen the works of God incarnate, Sodom would have been less obdurate than Capernaum; there would have been no need for the stern surgery which cauterized the plain of the Cities, and Sodom might have been still standing. So with Jerusalem. Jerusalem rejected a stronger appeal than was made to Sodom, and compared with Jerusalem, Sodom might be counted righteous. Sodom, in her day of judgment, disappeared in a natural convulsion. Jerusalem, in her day, was to disappear under the heel and harrow of foreign invaders.

The application of Origen is rather that the sins of Jerusalem were worse than the sins of Sodom: to him the guilt of a degraded sensualism is less heinous than the guilt of deliberate rejection of righteousness. "All unrighteousness is sin," and it is not a healthy exercise to "damn those sins we have no mind to" with a view to excusing those "we are inclined to."<sup>1</sup> But it may be felt that Jerusalem had opportunities of knowing her Lord's will which were not given to Sodom. The religious and cultivated temperament which feels itself 'elevated' will do well to remark the danger of outsinning even low forms of lust.

The insight of Dante, who curiously couples the old city of the plain with a well-known town of Guienne, sees the common source of the disobedience both of Sodom and Jerusalem:

<sup>1</sup> Butler, *Hudibras*.

“Puossi far forza nella Deitade,  
 Col cuor negando et bestemmiano quella,  
 E spregiando natura e sua bontade :  
 E però lo minor giron suggella  
 Del segno suo e Soddoma e Caorsa.  
 E chi spregiando Dio col cuor favella.”<sup>1</sup>

## XII

**But ye seek (either imperative or indicative) from little to wax, and from greater to be [something] less.**

ὁμείς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξήσαι καὶ ἐκ μέζονος ἑλαττον εἶναι.—  
*Cod. Beza* after Matt. xx. 28. With several Latin versions and the Curetonian Syriac.

“IT seems to be a genuine fragment” (Westcott). Ropes (*Die Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 151, 152) concludes that it is probably a genuine Saying of the Lord (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 70, 71).

It is included by Dean Plumptre in the Sayings noted in his introduction to the Gospels in Bp. Ellicott's Commentary, p. xxxiii. With the turn of phrase ἑλαττον εἶναι, in the neuter, to be a less thing, or something less, may be compared Luke xi. 32, πλείον Σολομώνος, something more than Solomon, and Matt. xii. 6, τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον, something greater than the temple.

A. Carr in the Cambridge Bible quotes καὶ πῶς τὰ κρείσσω θνητὸς οὖς' ὑπερδράμω; from the *Ion* of Euripides, 973.

Alford on Matt. xii. 6 and 41 is no doubt right that the Something Greater is the Lord Himself. Here the something greater and less is, indefinitely, ourselves.

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.* xi.

The imperative seems the better mood to adopt. The charge to the servant of the Lord is to grow out of the insignificant into something wider and greater, and on the other hand to aim at self-diminution in the things of this world.

Coming just after the selfish request of the sons of Zebedee, and the Saviour's reply that foremost thrones in heaven were His to give only to those for whom they are prepared of the Father, the charge will press home the dignity of service. The 'great' man is he who unselfishly seeks to be useful; the 'small' man is he who selfishly seeks to be conspicuous. In a sense it is true that "the world knows nothing of its greatest men,"<sup>1</sup> because it necessarily judges by success: some of the greatest of men have tried to be useful, and have apparently failed. Our Lord out of all the præ-Christian world ranked John the Baptist highest in 'greatness' (Matt. xi. 11), and John the Baptist, though he himself saw that for him success lay in effacement (John iii. 30), was to the world a failure, and a disappointed failure. The age which witnessed among other fallings away from high ideal the gradual transformation of the imitators of St. Francis of Assisi from lovers of a life of unselfish evangelizing to ambitious and sometimes wealthy partisans of an influential order, and that later time which knew the kindly disciples of that other Francis of Paula as 'les bonshommes,' unfortunately missed the depth of teaching lying in the styles and titles 'Fratres minores' and 'Fratres minimi.' The "Minorities" of London where the poor Clares had their home, and the traditions of the Frères Minimes in France and Calabria, tell us how certain men and

<sup>1</sup> H. Taylor, *Van Arteveldt*.

women once adopted names to remind them that if we would grow out of the petty and the mean, we must 'be less,' nay least, in the estimation of ourselves and of the world.

### XIII

**He that wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall be made to rest.**

ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαυθήσεται. Quoted from the Gospel of the Hebrews in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* II. ix. 45. Cf. *Strom.* V. xiv. 96.

THIS Saying, though accepted by Westcott, is relegated by Resch to the category of the spurious. It is admitted by Ropes to be possibly genuine in its original Aramaic, with a word of quite another sense substituted for that rendered *θαυμάσας*.<sup>1</sup>

But the place given to *wonder* in the development of character and in spiritual progress does not seem incompatible with the drift of the Saviour's teaching. Plato makes Socrates declare wonder to be the beginning of philosophy,<sup>2</sup> as Clement himself points out.

<sup>1</sup> "Zahn hat an die Übersetzung *θαμβηθεὶς*" (Clem. *Strom.* V. xiv.) "anknüpfend, auf eine aramäische Vorlage geraten, wo vielleicht ein Wort stand wie das hebräische מַבְבִּי das so wohl 'zerbrochen werden' wie 'in Schreck und Entsetzen geraten' bedeuten könnte. In diesem Fall würde *συντετριμμένος* wohl ungefähr die richtige Übersetzung gewesen und Lc. vi. 21 zu vergleichen sein."—Ropes, *Die Sprüche*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Theæt.* § 32, μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη. Cf. Arist. *Metaph.* i. 2. Διὰ τὸ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν ἀπύρων θαυμάσαντες, εἴτα κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω προϊόντες καὶ περὶ τῶν μειζόνων διαπορήσαντες.—So Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum.* i. 1, principium philosophiæ inscientiam.

"Wonder," says Bp. Horsley,<sup>1</sup> "connected with a principle of rational curiosity, is the source of all knowledge and discovery, and it is a principle even of piety, but wonder which ends in wonder, is the quality of an idiot." In this sense no doubt Dante represents wonder as soon extinguished in a noble heart :—

". . . stupore

"Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s'attuta."<sup>2</sup>

A child does not wonder. It is only in proportion as he "increases in wisdom," and "searches through all he feels and sees," that he begins to be astonished. Then, if he be led through wonder to knowledge, he may reign in the realm of philosophy. In the kingdom of heaven if the outset is marked by the wonder of astonishment, the further the progress, as in the realm of science, the further scope for the wonder of awe and delight. "*Mirabilia testimonia tua ; ideo scrutata est ea anima mea*" (Psalm cxix.).

"Wonder," says Bishop Westcott,<sup>3</sup> "the direct consciousness of the immeasurable depths of nature and of life with the power of developing them to others, is the characteristic endowment of the true poet. He sees the infinite and the eternal in common things, and leads his fellow-men to look upon them." It may be questioned whether some writers who profess to be conscious of nothing but the indefinite and the temporal have not written poetry ; but the judgment is nevertheless true that wonder leads the poet to the infinite and the eternal.

The connection of reigning and rest suggests the

<sup>1</sup> Sermons, i. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* xxvi. Cf. Carey *in loc.*

<sup>3</sup> *An Appreciation of the late Christina Georgina Rossetti*, p. 11, a sermon for which this Saying is taken as text.

thought of victory over self and over the evil one. One with the Lord in His priestly royalty<sup>1</sup> the Christian saint is *Rex denique Regum*<sup>2</sup> in a sense transcending that of the old Stoic.

## XIV

**I came to destroy the sacrifices, and if ye cease not from sacrificing, wrath will not cease from you.**

ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσησθε τοῦ θύειν οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή.—Ebionite Gospel, quoted by Epiphanius, *Her.* xxx. 16. Cf. Matt. ix. 13; Hos. vi. 6.

THIS Saying is included by Resch among the apocryphal, and is rejected by Ropes. It is accepted by Westcott.

The startling, almost exaggerated, form of speech seems not unlike some canonical sayings—*e. g.* Luke xiv. 26; Matt. v. 29. Our Lord came to destroy “sacrifices without mercy,” and the wrath of God abides eternally on such ‘sacrifices’ as the Prophet condemns as on a level with murder and idolatry (Is. lxvi. 3). On the other hand, the object of the “coming of the Lord” is that His Society of Priests (1 Pet. ii. 9) may offer unto Him an offering in righteousness (Mal. iii. 3). “For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same in every place incense shall be<sup>3</sup> offered unto my name, and a pure offering” (Mal. i. 11).

He came to do away with the acted forecasts of the one perfect sacrifice, in that He accomplished the real

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xx. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hor. *Epp.* I. i. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Even if the tense is doubtful, the ideal held out is certain.

sacrifice, and He commanded the Church to plead and proclaim this one Sacrifice in a memorial "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" till His coming again.<sup>1</sup>

So Athanasius on the abrogation of the old and the establishment of the new: "They attained to know what time the shadow should last, and not to be unmindful of the time that was at hand, in which the bullock of the herd should no longer be a sacrifice to God, nor the ram of the flock, nor the he-goat, but all these things should be fulfilled in a purely spiritual manner, by constant prayer, and upright conversation."<sup>2</sup> "For no longer were these things to be done which belonged to Jerusalem which is beneath; neither there alone was the Feast to be celebrated, but wherever God willed it to be. Now He willed it to be in every place, so that in every place incense and a sacrifice might be offered to Him. . . . The Saviour, changing the typical for the spiritual, promised them that they should no longer eat the flesh of a lamb, but His own, saying, Take, eat, and drink; this is My Body and My Blood. When we are nourished by these things, we also, my beloved, shall truly keep the Feast of the Passover."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 25, 26. Cf. Chrysost. *Hom. on Heb. x.* Migne, xvii. p. 131: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν καθαίρουσαν ἡμᾶς προσεγγκῶν. Ἐκεῖνην προσφέρομεν καὶ νῦν, τὴν τότε προσενοχθεῖσαν, τὴν ἀνάλωτον. Τοῦτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου, τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτε, φησὶν, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεὶ ποιούμεν. μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας· and Aug. *De Civ. Dei.* x. 6: Verum sacrificium est omne opus quod agitur ut sancta societate inhæreamus Deo.

<sup>2</sup> Festal Letter xix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Festal Letter iv. 4.

## XV

**Never be joyful, except when ye look on your brother in love.**

In Hebraico 'quoque evangelio legimus Dominum ad discipulos loquentem : Et nunquam inquit læti sitis, nisi quum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate.—Jerome *on Eph.* v. 3. Cf. Matt. xviii. 15 and v. 24.

THE Saying is placed by Resch among the apocrypha, but is regarded by Ropes as genuine.<sup>1</sup>

The natural man seeks to find enjoyment while indifferent, if not actively harmful, to his brother. That he is thus often baulked in his pursuit was recognised by heathen morality, and the typical 'mis-anthrope' was the subject of mockery in which the pagan satirist seems to have borrowed ideas from the Gospel.<sup>2</sup> The form, however, of the Saying implies a recognition of the fact that *lætitia*, χαρά, joy, is not, in a lower sense, inconsistent with hate and neglect of others. Both the 'Divites' of the great Parable, both Abraham and the Dives who has monopolised the name, had each "his good things," and the latter, though he "looked on his brother without love," no

<sup>1</sup> "Von einem 'starken Ansatz zur Gesetzlichkeit' (Resch, S. 375) vermag ich hier nicht die geringste Spur zu sehen ; es wird die Ermahnung ausgesprochen, dass man jeden Gedanken des Hasses als die eigne Freude störend ansehen und sich erst dann Freude überhaupt erlauben soll, wenn man den Hass aus seinem Herzen ausgestossen hat."—Ropes, *Sprüche*, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lucian, *Timon* 42 : φίλος δὲ ἡ ξένος ἡ ἑταῖρος ἡ ἐλέου βωμὸς, ὄθλος πολὺς, καὶ τὸ οἰκτεῖραι δακρύοντα, ἡ ἐπικουρῆσαι δεομένην, παρανομία, καὶ κατὰ λυσις τῶν ἐθῶν. μονήρης δὲ ἡ δίαίτα καθάπερ τοῖς λύκοις, καὶ φίλος εἰς Τίμων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἐπίβουλοι, καὶ τὸ προσομιλῆσαι τινὶ αὐτῶν μίσμα



doubt enjoyed them. Similarly the "Soul" for whom "the lordly pleasure house" was built no doubt enjoyed itself while in "God-like isolation" it watched the "darkening droves of swine" ranging the plain. But the lesson came that towers, however "lightly and beautifully built," can only be really enjoyed "with others."<sup>1</sup> "Happiness" is but poorly said to have been "born a twin," though to own even one brother is better than owning none: it is one of a large family, whom no man can number.<sup>2</sup> St. Thomas of Aquino (4 *Sent.* 49. 3, 1, 4, c.) was right morally, however wrong etymologically, in deriving *lætitia* from *latitia*.<sup>3</sup> The joy of a "large room," as contrasted with the pain of tightness and confinement emphasised by the Psalmist (Ps. cxviii. 5; LXX. πλατυσμός), and by Marcus Aurelius (εὐρυχωρία ix. 32),<sup>4</sup> is not only the joy of free action, but the higher joy of free entertainment. Thus the Saying is a command. The Lord's servant is charged by the Lord to try to enter into no other joy than his Lord's joy. If he keep the Lord's commandments and abide in His love, His Lord's joy will remain in him, and his joy be full. (Cf. John xv. 10, 11.)

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson, *Palace of Art*.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca (*Ep. ad Lucil.* xcv.) wrote of the famous "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto" (Terence, *Heaut.* I. i. 25) "Iste versus in pectore et ore sit." The *lætitia* of the Saying is consistent only with kindness to unlimited kin pectore, ore, re.

<sup>3</sup> *Lætus* fr. √PRI = cheer; cf. name "Plætorius," παῦς, Friede, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Trench, *Synonyms of the N.T.* 194. Cf. the *largior ather* of Verg. *Æn.* vi. 640, and the μίλα πέπταται of Hom. *Od.* vi. 44.

## XVI

As the elders relate, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, that they had heard from him how the Lord taught of those days and said:—"The days will come in which vines shall spring up, each having ten thousand stocks, and on each stock ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand bunches, and on each bunch ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield five and twenty measures<sup>1</sup> of wine. And when any-one of the saints shall have caught hold of one bunch, another shall cry—'Better bunch am I: take me: by means of me bless the Lord.' Likewise also [He said that] a grain of wheat shall engender ten thousand ears of corn, and each ear shall hold ten thousand grains, and each grain ten pounds of simila<sup>2</sup> pure and clear; and so the rest of fruits and seeds and each herb after its kind. And all animals using those foods that are got from the ground shall live in peace and concord, subject to man with all subjection."—Irenæus, v. 33. iii., quoting Papias, "Joannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis."

THE passage is extant only in the Latin translation. "It is evident that this famous passage gives only a very imperfect representation of the discourse of the Lord to which it refers, for I think that it is certainly based on a real discourse. It must be observed that the narration is now only preserved in a Latin translation of a free quotation from Papias,

<sup>1</sup> The Attic *μετρητής* held about nine gallons.

<sup>2</sup> Simila=fine flour; cf. *ιμαλιδ*=abundance.  $\sqrt{\text{si}}$ =sift. Cf. Germ.: semmel = loaf, and It. semola = bran.

who gave it on the authority of those who had heard St. John speak of teaching of the Lord to such effect. The history of the tradition is a sufficient explanation of the corruption which it has suffered."—Westcott, *Int.* pp. 428, 429.

Cf. Ez. xlvii. 12 and Rev. xxii. 2.

The fact that Papias, like most of the Christian writers of the second century, was a Millenarian,<sup>1</sup> and likely to give a literal sense to figurative expressions, does not weaken his testimony to the Sayings. On the Saying in question Bishop Lightfoot writes:<sup>2</sup>—

"A good example of the method . . . adopted by Papias and explained in his preface is accidentally preserved by Irenæus. The father is discoursing on the millennial reign of Christ. His starting-point is the Saying of the Lord at the last supper, 'I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of this vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom.' He takes the words literally, and argues that they must imply a terrestrial kingdom, since only men of flesh can drink the fruit of the vine. He confirms this view by appealing to two other sayings of Christ recorded in the Gospels—the one the promise of a recompense in the resurrection of the just to those who call the poor and maimed and lame and blind to their feast (Luke xiv. 13, 14), the other the assurance that those who have forsaken houses or lands for Christ's sake shall receive a hundred fold now *in this present time* (Matt. xix. 29; Mark

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and the author of the Ep. of Barnabas. Cf. Bp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 158.

x. 29, 30 ; Luke xviii. 30).<sup>1</sup> Which last expression, he maintains, can only be satisfied by an earthly reign of Christ. He then attempts to show that the promises to the patriarchs also require the same solution, since hitherto they have not been fulfilled. These, he says, evidently refer to the reign of the just in a renewed earth." After quoting part of the citation of Irenæus from Papias, and the concluding words, "These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books, for there are five books composed by him. And he added, saying, 'But these things are credible to them that believe.' And when Judas the traitor did not believe, and asked, 'How shall such growth be accomplished by the Lord?' he relates that the Lord said, 'They shall see who shall come to these (times),'" Bishop Lightfoot proceeds: "I shall not stop to enquire whether there is any foundation of truth in this story, and, if so, how far it has been transmuted as it passed through the hands of the elders and of Papias." This has been deemed a specimen of mere puerile chiliasm, and a proof that Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.* iii. 39) was right in styling Papias σφόδρα μικρὸς τὸν νοῦν. Its origin has been referred to *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, a Jewish apocryphal book published from the Syriac by Ceriani of Milan in 1866, and dated by O. F. Fritzsche shortly after A.D. 70 (cf. Salmon, *Int.* p. 226). But might not maintainers of a material millennium have misapplied some words of our Lord ?

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed in passing, as an illustration of the looseness of early quotation, that this passage, as given by Irenæus, does not accord with any one of the synoptic evangelists, but combines features from all the three.

The hyperbolical form of the Sayings is of a piece with the promise, that he who gives up his mother for his Lord's sake shall receive mothers a hundredfold now in this present life (Mark x. 30). No corn of Hauran or vine of Eshcol ever multiplied like the "daily bread," which, with "the chalice of the grapes of God," has fed and cheered the hungry and thirsty in the kingdom of God. The clause about animals becoming graminivorous and tameable seems to be a paraphrase, and may have originally been a quotation, of Is. xi. 6—9. The golden age of the Prophet and the Gospel transcends Vergil's 'Saturnia regna' in that while in the heathen "*nec magnos metuent armenta leones; . . . occidet et serpens*" (Verg. *Ec.* iv.), in the former the lion and the asp share in the regeneration (cf. Rom. viii. 21). "It may be that each form of brute cruelty was to the prophet's mind the symbol of a human evil, and the imagery admits, therefore, of an allegorical rather than a literal interpretation."<sup>1</sup>

## XVII

In the Gospel according to the Hebrews . . . it is narrated:—Lo the mother of the Lord and his brethren said to him: John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, **In what have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him, unless peradventure what I have said is ignorance?**

"In Evangelio juxta Hebræos . . . narrat historia;—Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei: Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum; eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem

<sup>1</sup> Dean Plumptre on Is. xi. in Bishop Ellicott's Commentary.

iis: Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo, Nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est."—Jerome *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2.

Cf. *Pseudo Cyprian de Rebaptismate*, xvii.: "confictus liber . . . qui inscribitur Pauli prædicatio: in quo libro contra omnes scripturas et de peccato proprio confitentem invenies Christum, qui solus omnino nihil deliquit, et ad accipiendum Joannis baptismi pæne invitum a matre sua esse compulsum." Cf. E. B. Nicholson, *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, p. 36, *et seqq.*

THIS Saying is relegated by Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 344) to the category of 'apocrypha,' on the ground that, as is urged by the Pseudo Cyprian, "contrary to all scriptural," and further to all patristic authority, it is inconsistent with the sinlessness of our Lord.

It is defended by Ropes (*Sprüche*, p. 127), as in substance, if not in exact form, genuine, and as being, when rightly understood, in no way inconsistent with the Saviour's sinlessness. The Saying seems indeed to preserve a testimony to the sinlessness. What more natural than that the Blessed Virgin and the brethren of the Lord should have approached him on the subject of the Baptism of John when multitudes "were being baptized in the Jordan, confessing their sins"? (Matt. iii. 6). What more natural than that He should have replied, "This Baptism is not for me: I have no sins to confess: you can convict me of no sin except—if that be sin, which it is not—my consciousness of being guilty of none"? What more natural than that the Brethren should have preserved the tradition? In fact this Saying, or its germ, enshrines the Lord's own comment on the narrative of the Evangelists. He comes from Galilee to the banks of Jordan to John, with the intention of being baptized by him, but not with the herd, and as they came. "Numbered," as He was, "among transgressors," and "made sin" for them, He would fulfil, inasmuch as it was becoming to Him, as to all of us, "to fulfil all righteousness, etc.,"

and to submit to every ordinance, as when the Virgin mother performed the Purification. But He would be careful to let His own people know that this submission involved no confession. He was, as Tertullian phrases it, "nullius pœnitentiæ debitor" (*De Bapt.* xii.). The Baptist recognised this exceptional character of the mightier and worthier, though he did not yet see all that it involved (John i. 31, 33), and so strove earnestly<sup>1</sup> to hinder the quasi-submission which in a moment, in obedience to his Lord's command, he conceded.

"Jesus," writes Bishop Jeremy Taylor,<sup>2</sup> "wanted not a proposition to consign by His baptism, proportionate enough to the analogy of its institution; for as others professed their return towards innocence, so He avowed His perseverance in it, and though he was never called in Scripture a sinner, yet He was made sin for us; that is, He did undergo the shame and the punishment; and therefore it was proper enough for Him to perform the Sacrament of Sinners."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> διεκώλυεν.

<sup>2</sup> Works, ed. 1856, vol. ii. p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπορρυψέως ἢ νηστείας χρεῖαν ἔχων ἢ καθάρσεως, ὁ τῇ φύσει καθαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννῃ ἀλήθειαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ὑμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται.—*Const. Ap.* vii. 23. On ὑπογραμμός, a writing copy, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 21, and Polycarp *Ep. ad Phil.* viii. So on the Lord's needing no "washing of regeneration," cf. Henricus Pistor (15th c.) on the Baptist in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 90—

Dum baptizat baptizatur  
 Dumque lavat hic lavatur  
     Vi lavantis omnia.  
 Aquæ lavant et lavantur  
 Hic lavandi vires dantur  
     Baptizati gratiâ.

## XVIII

He told us beforehand, when He taught, **The weak shall be saved through the strong** (*or, weakness shall be saved by means of strength*).

προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται.—Apostolic Church Ordinances,<sup>1</sup> xxvi.

ROPES<sup>2</sup> calls this a "beautiful Saying" worthy of a place in the Gospel.

The context in the original is as follows:—

"Andrew said: It is good, brethren, to appoint a

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The Tract was first published in Greek from a Vienna MS. by Bickell (*Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, 1843), and is extant in Coptic, Æthiopic, Syriac, and Arabic. The Greek title is αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. It is printed in the prolegomena to Bryennius' ed. of the *Didache*, p. 72, Hilgenfeld, *N. T. ext. can.* IV. ed. II. p. 111, and Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf App.* p. 225; cf. Salmon, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 610. D. C. Ant. i. 123, and Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, pp. 12–16.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Sprüche*, pp. 123, 124, "Dieses schöne Wort wird, so viel ich weis, ausserhalb dieser ägyptischen Kirchenordnung, wo es als von Johannes in der Reihe der Apostelworte gesprochen mitgeteilt wird, sonst nirgends erwähnt. Reschs Parallele aus Minucius Felix (Cap. xxxvi. fortitudo enim infirmitatibus roboratur) hat mit ihm gar nichts zu schaffen, und seine anderen Parallelstellen beweisen nur, dass der Gegensatz von ἀσθενής und ἰσχυρός überhaupt der altchristlichen Litteratur nicht fremd ist. Der Spruch selbst, welcher an 1 Kor. viii. 7 ff., ix. 22; 2 Kor. xii. 9 erinnert, ist völlig würdig im Evangelium zu stehen, und es ist nicht undenkbar dass ein solcher Spruch sich unbeachtet fortgepflanzt hätte; aber die Bezeugung ist zu schwach um ein günstiges Urtheil mit Sicherheit zu erlauben."



ministry for the women. Peter said : We arranged it before ; but concerning the offering of the Body and of the Blood let us give exact instructions. John said : Ye forget, brethren, how the Master, when He asked for the bread and the cup and blessed them saying, This is My Body and Blood, did not suffer the women to stand with us. Martha said, On account of Mary, because He (or because she) saw her smiling. Mary said, I did not laugh : for He told us before when He taught, the weak shall be saved through the strong. Kephass said, But remember some [who say] that [it befits] women to pray not standing upright but seated on the ground."

The application of the Apophthegm in the text seems therefore to be to the "weaker vessel, that of the woman" (cf. 1 Pet. iii. 7). And without doubt the prospect held out to the wife of saving her husband, and to the husband of saving his wife (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 16), is not limited to the case where believer has married unbeliever, but often holds good where both are believers. The weaker vessel is saved by the stronger. Sometimes in faith the man is the weaker vessel ; but here the application would be that the man acts for the woman, his representative priesthood including both sexes.<sup>1</sup> But the widest application may be given to the words. It is the high privilege of strength of every kind, physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, to be the means of saving the weak, from the supreme strength of the Stronger than the strong,

<sup>1</sup> The Æthiopic version, as interpreted by Harnack (*Lehre*, p. 236), gives a sense not admitted by the Greek : *Dixit Martha de Maria : aspiciat eam quomodo rideat. Et dixit Maria, Non ideo risi quod dixerit nobis dominus noster : Bonum est nam infirmus convalescet firmiter.*

which saves weak humanity, down to the humblest championship of the bigger child who rescues the less.

"Strength," says Aristotle, "is the power of moving another as it will."<sup>1</sup> Primarily true of muscular strength, this definition is true of all active strength. The strength of the omnipotent is "mighty to save"<sup>2</sup> "to the uttermost" by "turning the disobedient."<sup>3</sup> But even omnipotence declines to save infirmity at the expense of its freewill, and if infirmity refuse to be saved, it may "baffle e'en the spells of heaven," and give the lie to this fair Saying. So with the strength which does not move, but is immovable, wherein the weak is saved as in a "tower of strength that stands foursquare to all the winds that blow," the "high tower" of David,<sup>4</sup> the "Feste Burg," the "gute Wehr and Waffen" of Luther. But here too the strong tower will only "save to the uttermost those who come unto" its protection.

## XIX

**Bring, said the Lord, a table and bread.** And forthwith it is added: He took bread and blessed and brake and gave to James the Just and said to him: **My brother, eat thy bread, for the son of man is risen from them that sleep.**

Afferte ait Dominus mensam et panem. Statimque additur: Tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit et dedit Jacobo Justo et dixit ei; Frater mi comede panem tuum quia resurrexit filius hominis a dormientibus.—The Gospel according to the Hebrews, quoted in Jerome *de Vir. Illust.* ii.

THIS Saying is accepted as genuine neither by Resch

<sup>1</sup> ἰσχυς δέ, ἐστι μὲν δύναμις τοῦ κινεῖν ἕτερον ὡς βούλεται.—*Rhet.* i.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah lxiii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. vii. 25, and Luke i. 17.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. xxii. 3.

nor Ropes. The tradition, however, mentioned by Jerome in the passage immediately preceding this citation, that James had sworn not to eat bread after the Lord had drunk the cup,<sup>1</sup> until he had seen the Lord risen, can hardly have grown out of the bare statement of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 7; and the more so from the appearance to James in St. Paul's narrative being placed after that to the five hundred.

Dean Plumptre however remarks <sup>2</sup>—"The narrative presents, it is obvious, so many analogies with other manifestations recorded in the Gospel, that, admitting the fact of the appearance to James, on the strength of St. Paul's statement, this may well be received as giving what was probably the manner."

The traditional appearance to James would seem to have been regarded as vouchsafed among the earliest. Indeed it has been conjectured (*e. g.* by Wieseler and Donaldson, cf. Alford on 1 Cor. xv. 7 and Luke xxiv. 13) that James was the unnamed companion of Cleopas on the road to Emmaus.

If so the recognition at the act of the Breaking of the Bread fits in with the Saying.

The Saying is also significant as embodying our Lord's announcement that His Body shared the 'sleep' of the dead: if He rose 'a dormientibus,' He had been numbered 'inter dormientes.' While the Soul descended into the Paradise of Hell or Sheol, with that of the Penitent Thief, His Body rested in the grave of the rich. Cf. the Article of 1553:

"For the bodie lay in the Sepulchre, untill the

<sup>1</sup> Adopting with Lightfoot (*Gal.* p. 266) the reading 'Dominus'; for "the point of time which we should naturally expect is not the institution of the Eucharist, but the Lord's death."

<sup>2</sup> Preface Ep. of James in Cambridge Bible.

resurrection : but his ghoste departing from him, was with the ghostes that were in prison, or in Helle, and didde preache to the same, as the place of St. Peter dooeth testifie."

The word *κοιμᾶμαι* is not used in Scripture of the Lord's death, as it is of saints of both the Old and New Covenant (Matt. xxvii. 52, Acts vii. 60), and as it had been of the heathen (*e.g.* Sophocles, *Electra* 509). Nor do the Evangelists say *ἀπέθανε*. (Yet cf. John xi. 51 and xii. 33.) The terms used indicate a voluntary surrender of life. Gregory of Nyssa, in a remarkable passage,<sup>1</sup> argues that as "There are two limits of human life, the one we start from and the one we end at, so it was necessary that the Physician of our being should enfold us through the two extremities, and grasp not only the end but the beginning too, in order to secure the raising of man lying low in both . . . that heavenly passionlessness which is peculiar to the Deity being nevertheless preserved both in the beginning and in the end of this life of man. Thus the beginning was not as our beginning, nor the end as our end. Both in the one and in the other He evinced the power of the godhead." Yet the sleep of the grave may be figuratively applied to the Lord as to the race whom He redeemed. So T. Whytehead's Hymn in *Hymns A. and M.* (cxxiv.)—

"Still He slept, from Head to Feet  
Shrouded in the winding-sheet." <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter iii. (xvii.), Migne, iii. p. 1024.

<sup>2</sup> The risen Lord became the *ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κοιμημένων* (1 Cor. xv. 20). "It is possible that the ancient hymn, from which St. Paul quoted in Eph. v. 14 : 'wherefore it saith,

Awake, thou that sleepest,  
And arise from the dead,  
And Christ shall shine upon thee,'

## XX

The Saviour Himself says, **Now took me by one of my hairs my mother the Holy Spirit, and carried me off to the great mountain Tabor.**

Αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν "Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβάρ.— Origen on John ii. 6.

THIS extraordinary Saying, from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, is again quoted by Origen on Jeremiah, Hom. xv. 4, and by Jerome on Mic. vii. 6, Isaiah xl. 9, *seqq.* and Ezekiel xvi. 13.

"Although," remarks Ropes (*Sprüche*, p. 99), "it is very ancient in character, and at all events old, it is too grotesque for me to recognise it as a saying of the Lord, so long as the context is not forthcoming. Ezekiel viii. 3<sup>1</sup> (καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με τῆς κορυφῆς μου καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγέν με εἰς

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was intended to represent the triumph song with which the Lord entered the Underworld . . . we must also compare a passage which Justin Martyr says the Jews cut out from Jeremias in their copies of the LXX: 'The Lord God, the Holy one of Israel, remembered His dead that had fallen asleep aforetime in the earth of burial, and descended to them to proclaim to them the good news of His Salvation.' Irenæus also quotes this passage several times; but we have no reason to believe that it ever formed part of the Old Testament Scriptures. But yet it is important if only to show how much these thoughts were in the air in early times, a fact to which further witness is borne by the Gospel of Nicodemus."—Canon Armitage Robinson on the *Gospel of St. Peter*, p. 25. Cf. Dan. xii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bel and the Dragon, 36.

Ἱεροουσαλήμ) has probably furnished the form of the phrase. The peculiar description of the Holy Ghost as the mother of Jesus is perhaps connected with the fact that the Spirit who in the Hebrew Gospel addressed Jesus as son cannot be Father, and further that the word Spirit ('ruach') in Hebrew is feminine. Whether the phrase is more appropriate to the Temptation or the Transfiguration is not easy to determine; an ancient tradition has named Tabor for both. It is however more probably to be referred to the Temptation." 'Ruach,' though sometimes masculine, is generally feminine. The corresponding Aramaic 'Rucha' is feminine. Origen (*l. c.*) explains the term 'mother' by our Lord's statement that whoso does His will is His mother. (Cf. Jerome in *Is. l. c.*)

Here the almost repulsive 'grotesqueness' of the Saying may well have led to its rejection. Yet if we regard it as an adapted quotation and appropriation by the Lord of the passage in Ezekiel it may have value. With the ἡγαγε of Ezekiel cf. the ἀνήχθη of St. Matthew, the ἐκβάλλει of St. Mark, and the ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι of St. Luke.

It may be that no data are furnished by the text of the Gospel as to where and what was the exceeding high mountain of Matt. iv. 8, but it does not follow that all enquiry on the subject is 'nugatory' (Alford *in loc.*). "It is the universal judgment of those who have stood on the spot that the panorama as they look from Tabor includes as great a variety of objects of natural beauty and of sacred and historic interest as any one to be seen from any position in the Holy Land."—*D. B.* iii. 1425. The commonly accepted site for the vision of the glories of this world is Mount Quarantania, but apart from the fact that the tradition

connecting Quarantania with the Forty Days' Fast is not an ancient one,<sup>1</sup> there is no reason why different episodes of the temptation may not have been enacted on different spots.

Zahn, in his *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* (vol. ii. p. 691), writes, "Aber ebenso alt mag die andere Ueberlieferung sein dass der Thabor der Burg der Versuchung sei. In der Tradition streiten sich also das ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν, Matt. iv. 8, und das ὄρος ὑψηλόν Matt. xvii. 1, um den Namen Thabor, welcher keinem von beiden zukommt." For the antiquity of the Tabor tradition as the site of the Temptation Zahn quotes Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 21, ed. Dindorf<sup>2</sup>): μετὰ τὸ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρήμου κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ . . . καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνενεχθῆναι εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν ὅπερ παρὰ πολλοῖς λέγεται εἶναι τὸ Θαβὼρ ὄρος δ' ἐρμηνεύεται Ἰταβύριον.

## XXI

**I will choose for myself these good [things] which my Father in heaven hath given me.**

From Eusebius, *Theophania Syr.*, ed. S. Lee, iv. 12, pp. 233—235.

"THE cause, therefore, of the divisions of souls that came to pass in houses (Christ) Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said: I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father Who is in heaven

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Farrar, *Life of Christ*, p. 92, "not older than the Crusades." On the appropriateness of Tabor cf. E. B. Nicholson, *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is not in Migne's ed.

has given me.”—Professor Lee’s translation. Westcott, *Int.*, p. 428.

Ropes, who accepts the Saying, remarks that the text must be improved by the omission of the Syriac word rendered ‘things,’ which gives absolutely no sense. The correct version is to be found in the passage of Eusebius (Hilgenfeld, *N. T. extra Canonem*, iv. 22) as translated by Von Merx.<sup>1</sup>

Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 6. 48 : αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ὁ κύριός φησι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔλεξα ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς κρίνας ἀξίους ἐμοῦ. But the reference is wider than to the Twelve. The Lord will gather His chosen—His elect—“from the four winds.”<sup>2</sup> The good are at once the gift of the Father to the Son, and the choice of the Son.

## XXII

He said **There shall be schisms and heresies.**

εἶπε γὰρ . . . ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις.—Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph.* v.

Cf. Didaskalia, vi. 5, ὁ κύριος καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἔφη ὅτι ἔσονται αἵρέσεις καὶ σχίσματα. Also *Clementine Hom.* xvi. 21.

Ropes will not accept this Saying, yet remarks—“Justin scheint in seiner Evangelien handschrift diese Worte sicher gelesen zu haben ; und dass die Didaskalia auch den Spruch als überliefertes Herrnwort hatte bezweifle ich nicht.”—*Sprüche*, p. 96.

On 1 Cor. xi. 19 Alford says : “Δεῖ, in the divine appointment, the ἵνα which follows expressing God’s

<sup>1</sup> *Sprüche*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiv. 31.



purpose thereby. Our Lord had said ἀνάγκη ἔλθῃν τὰ σκάνδαλα, Matt. xviii. 7, and Justin Martyr, *Tryph.* v., p. 132, quotes among His sayings prophetic of division in the Church ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις. From the pointed manner in which δὲ γὰρ, etc., is said, I should be inclined to think that the Apostle *tacitly referred to the same saying of the Lord.*"

Justin quotes these four words as from the Lord with the predictions recorded in Matt. vii. 15 and Matt. xxiv. 24.

It is to be noticed that the interpretation of the Fathers understand the heresies and schisms of I Cor. xi. 19 to refer to selfishness and quarrelsomeness rather than to dogmatic and ecclesiastical differences. So Theodoret, αἵρέσεις τὰς φιλονεικίας λέγει, οὐ τὰς τῶν δογμάτων διαφοράς. Cf. Chrysostom and Theophylact, and Suicer, *s. v.* αἵρεσις. But self-will is essentially the same, whether it issue in a schism between class and class where all ought to be atoned, or a schism rending from the seamless robe of Christ's Church a 'sect' that 'follows' some self-appointed leader's 'secta.' Our Lord knowing what was in man could not but foresee what He foretells.

## XXIII

Jesus saith, **Except ye fast (to or from) the world, ye can in no wise find the kingdom of God: and except ye sabbatize the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.**

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὑρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.—Oxyrhynchus (so called) Logia, II.

THE 'and' in this Saying is almost certainly to be understood "and He saith," and introduces not a

mere second clause of one Saying, but a distinct and separate, though parallel, Saying.<sup>1</sup>

It may, however, be convenient to consider the parallel Sayings together. Clause i., if we accept the accusative κόσμον, may either mean "unless ye fast to the world" (accusative of relation, cf. ἀλγῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν = j'ai mal à la tête), or "unless ye keep up a 'world-long' fast" (accusative of duration of time, cf. νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν, *Did.* viii. = fast on Wednesday and Friday). It is probably better to take κόσμον as a clerical error for κόσμου, and understand "unless ye fast from the world," unless ye are of the class described in Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 15, οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες. Each possible rendering has its obvious charge. The Christian must fast in relation to the world, all through worldly time, and from worldly things. Such fasting is a main part of the 'seeking' which is to end in 'finding.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Charles Taylor on the *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, pp. 8, 9, and the instances he quotes of καί and van used in this sense. To Dr. Taylor's exhaustive discussion of these so-called 'Logia' not much can be added. On the objection to limiting the denotation of 'Logia' to recorded utterances of our Lord, see page 9. At the same time "the present tense 'saith' marks the 'Logia' as 'a collection of Sayings having a present living force,' as Professor Lock has well observed. Another writer adds that ΛΕΓΕΙ is appropriate because the Sayings purport to be 'living oracles of the living Lord,' like the inspired utterances cited from the Old Testament in the New, and introduced by a simple 'saith' or 'saith the Scripture' or 'the spirit' or 'the Lord.' Such may be the significance of 'saith Jesus.' But 'saith' may be used of any saying for which the authority is documentary. In ordinary Greek λέγει would naturally introduce a quotation from a book, εἶπεν being the usual word when the quotation is a matter of history or tradition (Bywater)."—Taylor, *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, p. 20.

The sense of *sabbatizing the sabbath* is not so obvious. In the LXX. version of Ex. xvi. 30 and 2 Macc. vi. 6 *σαββαρίζειν* is used absolutely for "to keep the sabbath." In Lev. xxiii. 32 we have *σαββατιέιτε τὰ σάββαρα ὑμῶν*, "ye shall keep your Sabbath," i. e. the Day of Atonement. With or without the cognate objective *σαββαρίζειν* is used of keeping the sabbatical year. *σάββατον σαββαρίζειν* is never used of keeping the Sabbath in the ordinary sense. To sabbatize the sabbath is to keep the true sabbath, is to cease from sin. Cf. Saying V. p. 22. Of many possible patristic illustrations of spiritual sabbath-keeping, cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Trypho*: "The new Law wishes you to sabbatize continually, and ye while ye do no work throughout one day imagine that ye act piously. This is because ye do not understand why the command was given you. Also if ye have eaten unleavened bread ye say that ye have fulfilled the law. Not in these things is the Lord our God pleased. If there is any one among you forsworn or a thief, let him cease: if any adulterer, let him repent, and then he has sabbatized the true and joyous sabbath of God." So Tertullian, *adv. Judæos*, iv. p. 137: *Unde nos intelligimus magis sabbatizare nos ab omni opere servili semper debere, et non tantum septimo quoque die, sed per omne tempus.*

## XXIV

Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken. [And] none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind at heart.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας [καὶ] οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν.—Oxyrhynchus (so called) Logia, III. iv.

DR. TAYLOR regards the 'and' as editorial, and not part of the Saying.

Cf. John vii. 37, Matt. xxiv. 37—39, and Luke xvii. 26—28. Also Baruch iii. 37.

Dr. Sanday (Lock and Sanday on the 'Logia,' p. 36) "cannot think that the opening words can ever have come from the Lord . . . the phrase" (ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς) "belongs to the later Apostolic age. It is a product of reflective theology looking back upon the Incarnation, and is unlike the language which our Lord Himself used while among men."

The use of the aorist. need not be understood to imply a further looking back than do our Lord's own words in Matt. xviii. 11, *The son of man 'came' to save*, and in Mark ii. 17, *I 'came' not to call*. Following the analogy of A. V. in the above passages we might without violation of the real sense render 'stand' and 'have been seen,' and regard the Saying not as 'retrospective'<sup>1</sup> from a post-ascension standpoint, but as recording the Lord's first impressions of

<sup>1</sup> Taylor *in loc.*

circumstances still existing when He spoke. And I do not feel so strongly the force of the objection that ἐν σαρκὶ ὥφθην is not what our Lord is likely to have said. The thought underlying ἐν σαρκὶ ὥφθην seems the same as that underlying ὁ ἑώρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα (John xiv. 9), and such expressions as St. Peter's θανατωθεὶς σαρκί (1 Pet. iii. 18), and St. John's ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα (1 John iv. 3), may have been suggested by words similar to the Saying.

## XXV

**Raise the stone and thou shalt find me : cleave the wood  
and I am there.**

\*Ἐγείραι τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκεῖ εὕρήσεις με· σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμί.  
—Oxyrhynchus (so-called) Logia V.

ON the proposed restoration of the former half of this Saying, see Appendix, p. 70.

The possible genesis and illustrations of both parts are very fully given in Dr. Taylor's *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, p. 31, *et seqq.*

The explanations given of the Saying are (a) the Pantheistic. Cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 81 : ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων πεφοίτηκεν, οἷον ξύλων καὶ λίθων καὶ ζώων, ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων.

Themistius *de Anim.* 72. 6 : τάχα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος σύμφωνος ἢ δόξα διὰ πάσης οὐσίας πεφοιτηκέναι τὸν θεὸν τιθεμένους.

Here a Christian Pantheism would read into the word of Lucian's anonymous Philosopher "not only in heaven, but also in all things," and acknowledge that there is a sense in which the Maker is in all

that He has made, as Browning's David sees in 'Saul':—

"I but open my eyes,—and perfection, no more and no less,  
In the kind I imagined, full-fronts me, and God is seen God  
In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul, in the clod."

But if this is the meaning of the Saying, Why *raise* the stone? Why *cleave* the wood? the immanence of the higher Pantheism can be conceived of without 'raising' or 'cleaving.' (β) Or is the notion, "raise that you may find *underneath*, cleave that you may find prisoned *within*"? Then the Lord is not in nature, but is concealed by nature. This is in its own proper sense quite true (cf. Jacobi, *Von den Göttlichen Dingen*, Werke, iii. 424—26, quoted by Sir W. Hamilton, *Metaph.* i. 41); "nature conceals God: Man reveals God." Man may "look through nature up to nature's God,"<sup>1</sup> but he may see a very different God from the Father to Whom none cometh save by the Lord. To reach the Father through the Son, *in spite of nature*, requires a lifting of stones, a very removal of mountains, a cleavage of hard timber, 'materies' or matter, a progress by effort and labour across and athwart obstacles, akin to that progress of the Divine Boy wherein He gradually cut his way forward<sup>2</sup> to the wisdom and stature of complete manhood.

(γ) Does 'raising' suggest any idea of worship, sacrifice, consecration? Jacob (Gen. xxviii.) "*set up the stone*" before his famous bargain.

No such idea seems to be associated with cleaving a tree or a block.

(δ) Again: a metaphorical meaning has been pro-

<sup>1</sup> Pope, *Essay on Man*.

<sup>2</sup> προέκοπτε. Luke ii. 52,

posed.<sup>1</sup> "Stocks and stones" are men in a state of cold and hard insensibility: οἱ ἄφρονες, the senseless. God is able to raise up children to Abraham even from the petrified and the callous, and we are privileged to co-operate in the raising.

(ε) Whether we do or do not press the close connection between the former and latter parts of the Oxyrhynchus Saying, laying stress upon the promise that even one, if faithful, shall have the divine companionship, the charge to raise and cleave may be a plain charge to each to do his work. A Paul, a Francis of Assisi, a Keble, may raise and cleave in different ways of spiritual edification. Carlyle's hard-handed labourer<sup>2</sup> may literally raise and cleave. "Hate not laborious work."<sup>3</sup> Do it with thy might, for the Lord's sake, and thou shalt not be "hurt therewith."<sup>4</sup> Pray that thou mayest "both perceive and know what things thou oughtest to do, and also mayst have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same," and thou shalt realise the presence of the Master. Thou shalt out of the stones and stocks of unpromising humanity, in thyself and others, hew a temple fairer and meeter for Him than any house of mere porphyry and cedar.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. C. Taylor, quoting Dr. E. A. Abbott, and Clemens Al. *Cohort. ad gentes*. Potter, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sartor Resartus*, Bk. iii. ch. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ecclus. vii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Eccl. x. 9. Cf. also the stories in the Gospel of Thomas (A. xviii. Tisch. p. 155 *et seqq.* and B. p. 89), where the child Jesus is made to say to the dead man raised, ποίει τὸ ἔργον σου, and to Joseph ποίει ἀκωλύτως τὸ ἔργον σου.

## APPENDIX

### SOME OTHER SUPPOSED SAYINGS

1. "Οτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν ἔφη αὐτοῖς Λάβετε, Ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. —Ignatius, *Smyrn.* iii. Cf. Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* xvi. A mere loose quotation of Luke xxiv. 39.

2. ἔφη τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ μακάριος δέ, φησὶν, δι' οὗ ἔρχεται. —*Clem. Hom.* xii. 29. The sense of Matt. xviii. 7, xi. 6, and parallel passages.

3. Εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ Μὴ φοβεισθώσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν δυναμένους ποιεῖν· ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός. A mere amplification of Matt. x. 16, 28, and Luke xii. 4, 5. *Clem. Rom.* ii. 5.

4. Ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς κρίνας ἀξίους ἐμοῦ. —Quoted from the Preaching of Peter, St. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vi. § 48; a combination of John vi. 70 and xv. 16, with the idea underlying Matt. x. 37, 38. Cf. Saying XXI. p. 60.

5. Φησὶν ὁ Πέτρος εἰρηκέαι τὸν Κύριον τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος μου [τοῦ] πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν



κόσμον μή τις εἴπη οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν.—Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5, 43 ; cf. vi. 6, 48.

Cf. Euseb. v. 18. 14, where Apollonius is quoted as saying ἔτι δὲ ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τὸν Σωτῆρά φησι προστεταχέναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Cf. Luke xxiv. 49 and Acts i. 4.

On this Ropes (*Sprüche*, p. 107) remarks that the Saying, derived apparently from the "Kerugma Petri," is unlike the manner of the Lord, and is, it seems, founded on the following calculation of dates. Taking A.D. 30 as the date of the Passion, and A.D. 67 as that of the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome, the 25 years of the sojourn at Rome bring us to A.D. 42, and leave 12 for the stay in Jerusalem. But what is the approximate date of the first appearance of the legend of the 25 "anni Petri"? And why take 30 as the date of the Passion? The early tradition was in favour of A.D. 29, the year of the Consulship of the two Gemini, so signally vindicated by modern calculation (*vide* Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* and C. H. Turner in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*). On the ancient tradition of a twelve years' ministry in the Holy Land, see Wordsworth on Acts i. 4. Alford thinks any such notion as a divine command to remain in Jerusalem sufficiently refuted by the facts, but remarks that "in the main they confined themselves to circuits in Palestine for some years."

6. ὁ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος γὰρ μὴ ἐσθιέτω, ἐν ἰδρώτι γὰρ τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγῃ τὸν ἄρτον σου φασὶ τὰ λόγια.—*Pseudo-Ignat.* ix. The former clause is proverbial, and is a variant of the more exact phrase of St. Paul in 2 Thess. iii. 10, εἴ τις οὐ θέλει, which = if any

one refuse to work. Λόγια in the sense of divine oracles covers the reference to both Old and New Testaments, and certainly does not identify the clause as a Saying of the Lord. Cf. p. 9.

7. Λέγει δὲ κύριος Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. *Ep. Barn.* vi. 13.

The sense of Matt. xxi. 16, with a possible suggestion of Rev. xxi. 5.

8. Dominus . . . dicit Mundabit domum regni sui ab omni scandalo.

Ephraem Syrus, *Evangelii concordantis expositio*, ed. Mössinger, xviii. p. 211.

An adaptation of Matt. iii. 12 and xiii. 41. For Domus regni, οἶκος βασιλείας = palace, cf. Macc. vii. 2. LXX.

9. Christus . . . dicens Ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum ; . . . ubi duo sunt, ibi et ego ero ; . . . quando tres sumus (quasi in ecclesiam coimus).

Ephraem Syrus, *Evang. Concord. expositio*, ed. Mössinger, p. 165. Cf. Prof. Blass's restoration of the former part of *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, v, Taylor's *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, p. 31. "Ὁπου ἂν ᾧσιν β' οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθροι καὶ ὅπου εἰς ἐστὶν μόνος λέγω Ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ. The sense of John xiv. 23, and Matt. xviii. 20.

10. Ἡμῖν λέγοντος τοῦ λόγου Ἐάν τις διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ δευτέρου καταφιλήσῃ ὅτι ἤρρεσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιφέροντος οὕτως οὖν ἀκριβώσασθαι τὸ φίλημα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ προσκύνημα δεῖ, ὡς εἰ που μικρὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παραθλωθείη, ἔξω ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰωνίου τιθέντος ζωῆς.—Athenagoras, *Legat.* xxxii.

The speaker is not necessarily the Lord, and the λόγος here apparently is equivalent to that of 1 Tim. i. 15, etc. = accepted teaching of the Church.

11. τὸ ἐν ταῖς Παύλου πράξεσιν ἀναγεγραμμένον ὡς ὑπὸ

τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρημένον Ἐνωθεν μέλλω σταυρωθῆναι.—  
Orig. in *Joann.* tom. xx. 12; cf. St Ambrose, *c.*  
*Auxentium*, xiii.

The famous reply to St. Peter's question in the vision on the Appian Way, *Domine quo vadis?* Κύριε, ποῦ ὁδεύεις; A saying in a post-Ascension interview, however accredited, belongs to a different category from all recorded before the Ascension. Beginning with the canonical Σαοὺλ τί με διώκεις, and containing some famous visions, as of St. Martin at Amiens, Sulpicius Severus, *Vit. B. Mart.* ii., a list might be compiled trending off into very shadowy legend.

12. ἔφη ὁ πονηρός ἐστιν ὁ πειράζων.—Hom. Clem. iii.  
55. Introduced with the bold prefix τοῖς δὲ οἰομένοις ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πειράζει, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ λέγουσι.

The Saying merely gives the sense of James i. 13, 14, and of Matt. xiii. 19, as well as of the narrative of the Temptation.

The quotation is all in favour of the translation of the Lord's Prayer in R.V.—μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ—i. e. Deliver us by drawing us to Thyself (ῥῦσαι) away from the tempter.

13. An interesting Coptic papyrus fragment brought from Cairo, and now in the University Library of Strasburg, was published in 1900 by Adolf Jacoby. It is in too torn a condition to be satisfactorily deciphered, and it is difficult to say whether it gives part of a Gospel or is of the nature of commentary or meditation. It refers to the Agony and to the Ascension. Possibly a genuine Saying may be enshrined in the phrase rendered by Jacoby :

[ich habe] euch meine ganze Herrlichkeit offenbart und habe euch erzählt

[ihre] ganze Kraft und das Geheimniss (μυστήριον) eurer Apostelschaft.

14. To these may be added the Mohammedan legendary Sayings preserved in the Koran; *vide* Hofmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 327 *seqq.*

Two are given by Dean Farrar in his *Life of Christ*, Excursus xv.

An interesting legend, referred to Persian sources, narrates how when the idlers at the gate of a city were pointing out the abominations of the carcase of a dead dog, Jesus of Nazareth came near and said, "But see how white its teeth are!"

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